

¹⁶ Mhat in Burmese means mark, and the bestower of this bell appears to have been born with some mark or discoloration about his body, whence he was named Mhat or Mark. The verse on the bell may be understood to mean that the donor was mark by nature and Mark by name.

¹⁷ Here again the meaning of the figures is not quite clear, whether referring to the weight of the bell or to the amount of expense incurred.

¹⁸ See note 7.

The last part of the inscription is in verse. Burmese verse consists of four syllables or five pronounced as four. The last syllable or last letter of one verse and the third or second syllable, or last letter of the third or second syllable, of the next verse, or of the two next verses, are made to chime together, and the last syllable or final letter in the last syllable of the last of these verses is often again connected by the same kind of rhyme with the following verses :—e. g.

* Yátána man *daing*¹ || Le yaung *pyaing*² dweng || *myazaing*³ ta kho¹ || taung kyun *tsho*² thau || myan daing *amára*¹ || nan thaná² way || Tsakya³ tha *khen*¹ || tshaddan *shyen*² hu Bhuren³ gyih *tsit*¹ || *phyit*² lat tharáu || let² thek *dau*⁹ nhait || *shyen dau*³ tha thana || &c.

The verse is written like prose excepting at the end of each verse there is a *paik* or stop, a double line, like that above shown. The Burmese have an immense collection of poetry and take great pleasure in reciting it, and I have heard my amiable friend, the Catholic Missionary Père TAROLI, admire their poetry exceedingly, declaring that some, which he once read to me, was equal to any thing in Danté !

VII.—*Note on Inscriptions at Udayagiri and Khandgiri in Cuttack, in the lát character. By JAS. PRINSEP, Sec. As. Soc. &c.*

I have already mentioned that on Lieutenant KITTOE's departure for *Cuttack* I requested him to take the first opportunity of visiting the *Khandgiri* rock for the purpose of re-examining the inscription of which a lithograph was published by Mr. STIRLING in his Statistical Report on the province of *Orissa*.

My zealous friend saw enough, several months ago on a rapid visit there, to prove that the published copy was very incorrect ; but it was only lately that he was able to repair to the spot again (a distance of 20 miles from *Cuttack*) to examine and copy the document in detail. I shall presently quote his own account of the difficulties he had to encounter in accomplishing the task I had imposed on his zeal and good nature ;—but first I would call attention to a number of short inscriptions in the old character which he discovered on the occasion of his first visit, in the various caves of the neighbouring hill called *Udayagiri* ; and which he carefully recompiled on his late trip, so as to leave no doubt of their accuracy as now represented in Plate LVII.

from his original sketches. It will be remarked that some of them are accompanied by symbols similar to those of the western caves in Colonel SYKES's collection; but they are frequently destitute of such ornaments, and the general style of the writing is of a purer and therefore more ancient type than that of *Sainhadri*.

In my search for some of the catch-words which had proved of such avail in explaining the purport of the inscriptions at *Bhilsa* and *Sainhadri*, I could neither meet with the *dánam* of the former, nor the *dayadhamma* of the latter,—but in their stead I remarked a very common if not constant termination in a word of two syllables 𑀧𑀭. *lonam*, or 𑀧𑀭. *lenam* preceded in most instances by the genitival affix 𑀭𑀸 *sa*; and in the only case, as of exception, by an equally regular genitive 𑀭𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀭 *sírino*, from the noun *sírí* (Sanskrit root सोरि gen. सोरिणः): a worshipper of the sun. It was not until after many futile attempts with the pandit to find a better, that we were led to the supposition that the words *lonam* or *lenam*, must be the Páli equivalent for the Sanskrit participial noun लूनं *lúnám*, ‘cut or excavated;’ in this the vowel is changed from *u* to *o*, and the *n* from the dental to the Prákrit cerebral:—but in sound it must be confessed that there is little difference; while in sense, the term satisfies precisely the circumstances of the *Udayagiri* caves, which are generally small holes cut with the chisel from the solid rock—a stone of loose consistency easily worked with the rudest tools.

The catch-word once attained, the reading of this new string of inscriptions was an easy matter.

The first then, which occurs in a cave now called the “snake cave” at *Udayagiri* (hill of the rising sun) reads thus:

No. 1. *Chúlakamasa Koṭhájayácha.*

“The impregnable or unequalled chamber of CHULAKARMA.”

Koṭha is precisely the कोष्ठ *koshtha* ‘an apartment.’ The conjunction *cha* shews that the sense is incomplete, but the continuation on the sides of the same door (No. 2) is in bad preservation; viz.

No. 2. *Kamase... rikhi nayache pasáde.*

“and the appropriate temple (or palace) of Karma... (*rishi*?)” only changing *pasádah* ‘favor’ into *pásádah* (S. प्रासादः) palace.

No. 3, on the cave now called that of the tiger, reads as follows:

Ugara avedasa sasuvino lonam.

“excavated by (of) UGRA AVEDA (the antivedist) (?) the *sasuvín*?”

No. 4, on an adjoining cave is equally unintelligible.

Mápámadáti bákáya yanákiyasa lonam.

“The excavation of YANA’KIYA for.....”

prevents our getting completely at their meaning. The language is of course no longer Pāli but Sanskrit.

No. 1.

ओशाधिकारसौराज्यादाचन्द्रार्क

गुह्य गर्भस्य देवजमुनेः प्रभवीश

रस्य विरजा (क्षेत्रे) ॥ इज्या गर्भसमु

द्भणानन्त तस्य खणभिक्ष भसदा

घोरण धान्यपस सम्वत्सरान्नि ॥

“ Under the fortunate government of an equitable prince this cavern (was excavated)—to endure as long as the sun and moon—for the heaven-born munis —(or holy ascetics), in the *viraja khetra* (or holy precincts) of the lord of gods (*Jagannath*), as a cave of sacrifice (*ijya garbha*) In the *samvat* year nine—(*muni*).”

It is a curious fact that all the inscriptions in this comparatively modern character found on the eastern side of India bear *samvat* dates, either in an era unknown, or in the mere reign of the existing sovereign ; so that little advantage can be taken of them in fixing the epoch of what they commemorate. The word *muni* here attached to *samvatsare* is used numerically for ‘ nine,’ that being the number of the sages. The name of the king under whose just rule the elephant cave was formed into a sacrifice cave connected with the worship of *Prabhaswara*, or *JAGANNATH*, does not clearly appear.

The fragments (figs. 2 to 11) carelessly cut on various parts of the caves are for the most part imperfectly legible.—They are in all probability merely the names of visitors as at *Allahabad*, *Gaya*, &c. The word *होतै hotta*, ‘ a burnt-offering,’ occurs in Nos. 3 and 6. No. 8 contains the name *KUVERA’GNI*, and No. 10 the title *Uttamakula vansa*, ‘ descendant of an illustrious family.’—It is unnecessary to dwell upon the reading of the rest, in which many letters and detached syllables might be easily transcribed, because they carry with them no trait of interest further than the fact, that the same transitions of the written character visible elsewhere are equally developed in the remains of these *Kalinga* monuments.

We now arrive at the more elaborate and curious document from the same neighbourhood which was the subject of Mr. STIRLING’s remarks alluded to in a preceding page. I cannot begin better than by inserting in his own words Mr. KITTOE’s

Note on the Khandgiri Inscriptions.

“ At your request I visited the caves of *Khandgiri* in March last, for the purpose of examining the inscription mentioned by Mr. STIRLING

in his statistics of *Orissa*, of which a plate is given in the 15th volume, of the Researches*.

* As few of my readers have an opportunity of seeing the Researches, I extract the following description of these caves and of the main inscription from Mr. STIRLING'S Report on *Orissa*, in the 15th volume.—ED.

“ About five miles west of *Bhobanésar*, near the village of *Jaymara*, in the *Char Sudhi Khandaiti* of *Khurda*, and still within the limits of the *Khetr*, a group of small hills occur, four in number, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, which present many objects of interest and curiosity. These hills called severally the *Udaya Giri*, *Dewal Giri*, *Nil Giri*, and *Khand Giri*, (by which latter name the spot is now generally designated,) are composed of a silicious sandstone of various color and texture, and are all curiously perforated with small caves, disposed in two or three irregular stories. Each of the caves is large enough to contain from one to two human beings in a sitting posture. Some of them appear to be natural cavities, slightly improved by the hand of man; others have obviously been excavated altogether artificially; and the whole are grotesquely carved and embellished. In one part, a protecting mass of rock has been cut into the form of a tiger's head, with the jaws widely distended, through which a passage lies into a small hole at the back secured by a wooden door, the residence of a pious ascetic of the Vyshnavite sect. The ridiculous legend which the natives relate to explain the origin of these isolated hills, is, that they formerly constituted a part of the *Himalaya*, at which time they were inhabited by numerous Rishis, who dug the caves now found in them. They were taken up bodily, ascetics and all, by MAHA'BÍR HANUMA'N, with other masses of rock, to build the bridge of *Rama*, but, by some accident, were allowed to drop in their passage through the air, when they alighted in their present position. I am almost tempted to add, as a curious coincidence, that they are the only real sandstone hills found in this part of the country; but the geology of the district has not been sufficiently explored, to warrant my advancing such an assertion positively. The summit of the highest rock, is crowned by a neat stone temple of modern construction, sacred to the worship of *Paras-nath*; all around, and in the neighbourhood of which, are strewn a quantity of images of the nirvánas, or naked figures worshipped by the Jain sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock. At the back of these temples, a highly remarkable terrace is shewn, called the *Deo Sabhá*, or assembly of the gods, which is covered with numberless antique-looking stone pillars or temples in miniature, some standing, others lying on the ground, about two or three feet long, having, on each of the four sides, a figure of the naked Jain deity rudely sculptured. The place is still frequented by the Jain of Parwár merchants or *Cuttack*, who assemble here in numbers, once every year, to hold a festival of their religion. A short way up the *Udaya Giri* hill, the nour or palace of the famous rája LALUT INDRA KESARI, is pointed out as the chief curiosity of the place. It consists of a sort of open court formed a perpendicular face of sandstone rock, about forty feet in height, with shoulders of the same projecting on either side. Rows of small chambers have been excavated in each face, arranged in two stories and divided by a projecting terrace. Both the exterior surface and the inner walls of the chambers are decorated with cornices, pilasters, figures, and various devi-

I discovered at once the incorrectness of the facsimile, moreover that it was only of part of a very extensive inscription.

I found a great many smaller inscriptions in the different caves all of which I transcribed. (See the preceding notice.)

Having no means of erecting a scaffolding, added to the limited leave granted me, I was obliged to defer the agreeable task of copying the great inscription till a future opportunity, which unfortunate circumstances prevented till the latter end of November, when having previously sent on people to make preparations I followed by dawk. After a whole day's hard work, I transcribed the most part of the great inscription and re-compared all the minor ones; I worked for upwards of an hour by torch-light and returned to cantonments, having travelled 38 miles out and home again.

ces very rudely sculptured, and the whole exhibits a faint and humble resemblance, in miniature, to the celebrated cavern temples in the south-west of India. The rude and miserable apartments of the *palace*, are now occupied by byragis and mendicants of different sects, who state that the place had its origin in the time of BUDDHA, and that it was last inhabited by the rāni of the famous rāja LALAT INDRA KESARI, a favourer of the Buddhist religion. Many odd fables are related of the scrapes into which she was led by her heretical notions, and of the way in which her conversion to the orthodox system of worship was at last effected.

Farther up the same hill, on the overhanging brow of a large cavern, one meets with an ancient inscription cut out of the sandstone rock, in the very identical character which occurs on the pillars at Delhi, and which as yet has been only very partially decyphered. Having been enabled to obtain an exact facsimile of this interesting monument by the assistance of Colonel MACKENZIE, whom I conducted to the spot in 1820, I shall annex the same to the Appendix of this paper. There are I think two eminently remarkable circumstances connected with the character used in the above inscription. The first is the close resemblance of some of the letters to those of the Greek alphabet, and the second the occurrence of it on sundry ancient monuments situated in widely distant quarters of India. In support of the first assertion, I need only point the attention of the reader to those of the characters which are exactly similar to the Greek on, sigma, lambda, chi, delta, epsilon, and a something closely resembling the figure of the digamma. With regard to the second, any reader who will take the trouble of comparing the *Khand Giri* inscription with that on FEROSH SHAH's lāt at *Delhi*, on the column at *Allahabad*, on the lāt at *Bhim Sen*, in *Sarun*, a part of the elephanta and a part of the *Ellora* inscriptions, will find that the characters are identically the same. A portion of the *Ellora* and *Salsette* inscription written in the above character, has been decyphered by the learning and ingenuity of Major WELFORD, aided by the discovery of a key to the unravelling of ancient inscriptions in the possession of a learned brahmin, vide the eleventh article of Vol. V. Asiatic Researches; and it is to be regretted that the same has not been further applied to decyphering the *Delhi* and other

I prepared a copy of my work (on a large scale) in pale ink, and again returned to *Khandgiri* on the 18th of December; I compared this copy with the original, correcting all errors with ink of a darker shade and completed such parts as had remained unfinished on the former trip. This I accomplished in eight hours and returned the same day via *Bobaneswar* to *Cuttack*.

I had again occasion to observe the great advantage of performing such work towards sunrise, and more particularly about sunset. The degree of light at that time being most favorable, faint letters which in the glare of noonday are not perceptible become clearly so then: I would observe however that I always mark such letters with dotted lines, as are doubtful.

The nature of the stone at *Khandgiri*, *Dhaulti**, and of the *Bobaneswar* temples is such as to render it quite impossible to take off facsimiles, as will be seen by the specimens of the different rocks†.

characters. The solution attempted by the Père TRIEFFENTHALER, does not seem to me to meet any attention‡. The natives of the district can give no explanation whatever on the subject. The brahmins refer the inscription with shuddering and disgust, to the *Budh ka Amel*, or time when the Buddhist doctrines prevailed, and are reluctant even to speak on the subject. I have in vain also applied to the Jains of the district for an explanation. I cannot however divest myself of the notion that the character has some connection with the ancient Prākṛit, and considering that it occurs in a spot for many ages consecrated to the worship of Parasnath, which the brahmins are pleased to confound with the Buddhist religion, and that the figure and characteristic mark which appears in company with it, thus 𑀓 does in some sort seem to identify it with the former worship; I am persuaded that a full explanation is to be looked for only from some of the learned of the Jain sect."

* We have not yet been able to insert the facsimiles of the *Dhaulti*.

† The rock is a coarse sandstone grit, or shingle conglomerate.—ED.

‡ He says, speaking of FEROS SHAH's pillar: *Après avoir beaucoup et long temps cherché j'ai trouvé la signification de ces caracteres. Ce sont en partie des signes numeriques, en partie des figures d'instrumens de guerre dont les Indiens se servaient autrefois. Δ est le caractère du nombre huit: 8 celui du nombre quatre, O designe le sceptre de Rama jointa Δ un globe; N désigne la figure d'une charrue que était autrefois un instrument de guerre chez les Indiens. X a de la ressemblance avec la lettre qui signifie C ou K: il est plus probable cependant que cette figure de dix Roman ou Ch Grec désigne une fleure à quatre feuilles dont les gentils employent quelque fois le figure pour servir à l'interponctuation des mots; Δ triangle qui est la déesse, Bavani; € est la caractere du nombre 6. E enfin désigne une espece de pallebarde avec laquelle Ram couchee sur le carreau un geant á mille bras. Des que ces caractères out de la ressemblance avec les caractères Grecs, quelques Européens ont cru que cet obelisque avait été élevé par Alexander le grand: mais c'est une erreur, &c.*

The hillocks of *Khandgiri* and *Udayagiri* form part of a belt of sandstone rock, which, skirting the base of the granite hills of *Orissa*, extends from *Autgur* and *Dekkunál* (in a southerly direction) past *Kúr-dá* and towards the *Chilka* lake, occasionally protruding through the beds of laterite.

Khandgiri is four miles northwest of *Bobaneswar*, and nineteen southwest of *Cuttack*.

The two rocks are separated by a narrow glen about 100 yards in width.

Khandgiri has but few caves on the summit. There is a Jain temple of modern construction, it having been built during the Maharatta rule. There are traces of former buildings ; I am inclined therefore to think that the present temple occupies the site of a *Chaitya*.

There is a tank hewn out of the rock on the eastern face of the hill which is held sacred by the Hindus as well as the Jains. This probably may be the "*Sitala tadága*" alluded to in the inscription.

Udayagiri is entirely perforated with small caves on its southern brow. The natives have a tradition that there were formerly 752, exclusive of those now called *Lálhat Indra Keshari's* *nour*. A great many still remain perfect ; none are of any size ; they are mostly small chambers about 6 feet by 4, and from 4 to 6 feet high, with verandahs in front and small doorways to them hewn out of the solid rock. Several are cut out of detached blocks in fantastic shapes, such as the snake cave, and tiger cave, &c. There is much rude sculpture in some of the caves representing battles, processions, the worship of the holy tree, &c. : there are many elephants represented in basso relievo also detached of yore.

A great number of caves were destroyed for materials to build the Jain temple, and it appears that the rest have suffered during the wars between the Brahmans and Buddhists in remote ages, since which the spot has been occupied by ascetics of the brahminical faith.

Stone has been quarried here to build the temples of *Bobaneswar* when probably many caves were destroyed, as well as the buildings of which so many vestiges are to be found in the jangal around.

It will ever be a matter of regret that I was unable from want of leisure to make drawings of the sculpture and plans of this extraordinary place.

Before I conclude this note I must remark on the ingenious method which had been adopted to drain the chambers, which from the porous nature of the stone would otherwise have dripped in wet weather : small grooves are cut along the ceilings all verging to one point

at the lower corner, where a perforation is made to conduct the water without.

The great inscription is cut over the entrance of the largest cave called *Hathí Gúmpha*, and occupies a space of 75 square feet."

Nothing short of an impression (and from the nature of the rock an impression was impossible) could surpass in fidelity Mr. KITTOE's twice-compared facsimile, which is given on a reduced scale in plate LVIII. The only liberty taken by the transcriber is in arranging the lines parallel and even, whereas on the stone they run very irregularly as represented in STIRLING's lithograph. Want of space also has made me crowd the letters in the lithograph too much, to the abridgment of the spaces which in the original most usefully mark the conclusion of each compound word.

One prominent distinction in the alphabetical character would lead to the supposition of its posteriority to that of the *láts*, but that the same is observable at *Girnár*: I allude to the adoption of a separate symbol for the letter *r* (|) instead of confounding it with *l* (J). Hence also it should be later than the *Gaya* inscription, which spells *Dasaratha* with an *l*,—(*dasalathena*). There are a few minor changes in the shape of the *v*, *t*, *p* and *g*; and in the mode of applying the vowel marks centrally on the letters, as in the *m* of *namo*; the letter *gh* is also used: but in other respects the alphabet accords entirely with its prototype, and is decidedly anterior to the modifications just observed in the *Sainhadri* cave inscriptions.

The opening words of the inscription command our curiosity from the introduction of a regular invocation, in lieu of the abrupt style of ASOKA's edicts. *Namo arahantánam namo sava sidhánam!* "salutation (or glory) to the *arhantas*, glory to all the saints; (or those who have attained final emancipation!)" These words evidently betoken a more matured and priestly style of composition. It should also be noted that the termination in *ánam*, which in Sanskrit only belongs to the genitive plural, in Páli serves also for the dative—the Sanskrit would be नमः अर्हते नमः सर्वे सिद्धे; the orthography of the text, however, differs materially from that of the modern Páli.

The next words, *Airena mahárájena mahámeghaváhanena chetakájate. . chhadhanena pasathasukelakhanena chaṭurantathaganena*, are almost pure Sanskrit,—ऐरेण महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन चैत्यकार्याचतनाच्छधनेन प्रसस्तशुक्लचणेन चतुरान्तरस्थाणुगणेन,—'by AIRA the great king,—borne on his mighty cloud-chariot,—rich in possession of the purest wealth of heart and desire,—of exceeding personal beauty,—having an army of undaunted courage.'

The concluding words of the first line are clear in import though slightly erased. . . *kalingádhīpa tirāsi sikhira avalonam*, . . “by him (was made) the excavation of the eighty-three rocky peaks of *Kalinga dwīpa*.” If objection be taken against reading *dhīpa* as *dwīpa*, by altering the *rā* to *nā*, we shall have the preferable reading—*Kalingā-dhīpatinā-āsi sikhārāvalonam*,—‘by him the king of *Kalinga*, &c. was this rock excavation (made);’—*avalonam* is formed from the word लुन before explained.

The second and third lines, owing to the same projecting ledge of stone which has so fortunately sheltered the upper line from the destructive influence of the rain through so many ages, are equally well preserved. In Roman characters they may be thus transcribed:—*Pandārāsa vāsāni siri-kaḍāra-sarīravatā, kīdita-kumāra-kīdikā, tato lekharūpa-gaṇa-nāva-vapāra-vidhī-visāradena sava-vijāvadātēna navavasāni, hota rāja paṇsāsivāsē, pūna chavavisati vase dānava-dhamena śeṣayovenā-bhivijayo tatiye Kalinga-rāja-vansa-puri sanyuge, mahārājābhisechanam pāpunāti*. For the sake of further perspicuity the same passage here follows in pure Sanskrit, which requires very slight alteration :

पञ्चदश वर्षाणि श्रीकडार शरीरवता क्रीडिता कुमार क्रीडिका ततो लेख रूप
गण नाव व्यापार विधि विशारदेन सर्वविद्यावदातेन नववर्षाणि भूतराज पञ्चा-
श्रितिवर्षे पुनश्चतुर्विंशति वर्षे दानवधर्मेण शेषयौवनेनाभि विजयः तृतीयः कलिङ्ग
राजवंशपुरि संयुगे महाराजाभिषेचनं प्रवृणोति ।

“(By him) possessed of a comely form* at the age of fifteen years,—then joining in youthful sports,—afterwards for nine years engaged in mastering the arts of reading and writing, arithmetic, navigation, commerce, and law ;—and resplendent in all knowledge ;—(the former *rāja* being then in his eighty-fifth year) thus at the age of twenty-four, full of wisdom and uprightness and on the verge of manhood (lit. the remainder of youth) (through him) does a third victory, in the battle of the city of the *Kalinga* royal family, sanctify the accession (anointment) of the *mahārāja*.” In this the only doubtful points to my mind are whether *Vijaya* should be understood as ‘victory’ or as a proper name, *VIJAYA* the third, (*yo* is written *po* in the text :)—and whether *śeṣa yovena* (*S. yauvanena*) should not be *asesha yodhena*, ‘having a numerous army.’ The immediate consequence of his accession is related in the next passage :

Abhisitamato vapadhammavase vatavihatato pura-pālāra nivesam paṭi-sankhārayati.

* *Kaḍāra sarīra* signifies ‘tawny body :’—*Srī kaḍāra* again may denote ‘the servant of *Srī*,’ the goddess of beauty.

“ Upon his accession choosing the brahmanical faith (विप्रधर्मवशः ?) he causes to be repaired (संस्कारयति) the city, walls, and houses (that had been) destroyed by a storm (वातविहततः)” and further, proceeding sentence by sentence, in the same strain :

Kalinga nagari khidhira sitala tadāga pariyo cha bathupayani sava yāni-pati santhapa(nam)cha kārayati.

“ For the poor (or ascetics) of Kalinga (खिदिर) a reservoir of cool water and a ghāt (?) also presents of every necessary (वस्तूपयणि) and equipages he makes permanent endowment of,” (संस्थापनं कारयति).

The next sentence is equally capable of explanation with a very few alterations—*panatisirāsihi satasahasehi pakātiyo ranjayati* :—‘ with eighty-three hundred thousand *panas* he gains the affection of his people’ (प्रकृतीः रंजयति.) Then follows,—*datiya cha vāse, āchitayitā sotekāri pachhima disām, haya goja nara radha bahula darīn pathāpayati* : ‘ and in a second house (which) the architect has prepared (आचितयितास्त्रवकारी) on the western side, (for) horses, elephants, men, carriages, a number of chambers he caused to be established’ (or he transferred them thither) प्रस्थापयति.—*bahula darīn* is altered to *thahula danḍi* in the corrected copy :—the sense is therefore doubtful.

Kansabanāgatāya-dasanāya vātānam saka-nagara-vāsino punavase gandhava-veda-budho dampana-tabhata-vādītā sandasanāhi usava samaja-kūrdpanāhi cha kīdapayati nāgarī.

‘ For those coming from *Kansa forest* to see ; the balcony (*vātāyanam*, or *vā tānam* and of them) . . of the inhabitants of *Sūkanagara* ; he, inclining to virtue, पुण्यवशः skilled in the science of music, causing to be sounded the *dampana* and the *tabhata* (drums ?) with beautiful and merry dancing girls (*nāgarī*) causes diversions,’ (संदर्शनीभि उत्सव समाज कारिनीभिश्च क्रीडापयति नागरीः)

Tathā vīvuthevase vijādharaḍhivāse a(ra)hata pubakalinga puvarājaniva sati.

‘ In like manner turning his mind to law (यवस्थावशः) in an establishment of learned men, he (called together ?) the Buddhist priests of eastern *Kalinga* who were settled there under the ancient kings . . . ’

The sense is here interrupted by abrasion of the stone but the words *vata dhama* (व्रतधर्म acts of devotion) bear out the conclusion that at this age the young prince began to study religion and the laws : the rest of the line is unintelligible.

—(a) *bhigārehi taratana sāpatena savarathika bhojakepā devam dāpayati.*

This passage has much perplexed the pandit—the word *ratna*, jewel, *savarathika*, all equipages,—and *devam dāpayati*, he gives to god, the concluding verb, are plain, but the meaning is still obscure.

Pachachaddinivase Nandarāja tivasata ughaṭitam tannisaraliya vāja panadi nagara pasesa “afterwards (पश्चाच्च दानिवशः) inclining to charity—the hundred houses (?) of NANDA rāja (निवास शतं उद्धातितं) destroyed, and himself expelled (तंनिःसार्यः?), all that was in the city of *Vajapanādi* (?)” . . . here we may fill up—‘he converted the plunder to the charitable purposes alluded to;’ and this sense is borne out by the beginning of the following or seventh line.

Anugaha anekani sata sahasani visajati;—‘he munificently distributes in charity many hundred thousands (*panas*)—*pora janapadam satamanchatisam pasāsato vajaragharavedham satam gharini savata kaha dāpanna narapa*

Here the sense is too much interrupted to be well made out, and the want of the concluding verb leaves us to guess the object of the repetition of *satam*, a hundred, with *paurajanapadam*, the town territory and *ghara* “house.” At the conclusion of this line we find a few known words: . . . *thamevase manam* . . . *ta* . . . *ge* . . . *giri* “hill.”—

The eighth line is again but partially intelligible:—*ghātāpayitā rājā gabham upapīḍapayati: dhātīnam cha kammupādāna panādena pambātasena vāhayati: pammuchitamadhuram apanata* *mora dadāti*.

“(To) the prince who caused (its) destruction, he ordains the pain of the cavern (imprisons in one of the caves?)—and causes the murderer to labour (*dhātīnam* for *ghātīnam*) by a generous requital. (*Pambātasena* the pandit would read *parbatāsanam* ‘seated on the hill’) and lavishes bland speeches and obeisance. . . .”

The ninth line opens with a catalogue of further gifts:—*kapam ukha haya gaja (lulapa?) sahāya sesa cha gharavāsāya, anatika-gana nirāsasahanancha karāyitun, ba imanānam-jatapa (jātiya?) paradadāti*:

“Apes, (कपि) bulls, (उच्च) horses, elephants, buffaloes (?) and all requisites for the furniture of the house;—to induce the practice of rejecting (निरास) improper persons, he farther bestowed (or appointed) attendants of the *baiman* caste (brahman?) ब्राह्मणानां जातीय परिददति—the rest of the line is irrecoverable. Henceforward the commencement also is lost, so that it is only in our power to string together such detached sentences as can be gleaned from what remains. Line 9. *mānatirāja pandarāsa mahāvijaya pāsādam kṛpayati*;—“ . . . rāja causes to be made the *palace* (or fort) of fifteen victories.”

Line 10. . . . *puva rāja nivesātam pīthu-dāga-dambha-nagare nakāsayatta janapade, bhāvanā chā teresa vase satake*:—‘finding no glory in the country which had been the seat of the ancient princes,—a city abounding in envy and hypocrisy,—and reflecting in the year thirteen hundred’—a break follows and leaves us in the dark as to what era (if any) is here alluded to. The Sanskrit of this passage would be:

अपूर्व राज निवेसनं (?) प्रथुगागदम्नगरे नकाशयित्वा जनपद, भावनसूत्रयो
दशवर्ष शतके after this occurs the expression *amaradehasa pāta*
“falling of heavenly form”—used to denote the death of a person,—
then *bārasa* ‘twelve’ and at the end of the line, *siri pithirājāno*, which
in Sanskrit will be श्रीपृथ्वीराजानः (राजा)

.. *tajāloralakhila bāranasi hirananivenayati*—apparently ‘he distributes
much gold at Benares (*S. vāranasam hiranyāni visirjati*)’—all that follows
is too uncertain until we approach the verb,—*anekāni dato (deva?) manī*
ratanāni aharāpayati, ‘he gives as charity innumerable and most precious
jewels.’

14th line. . . . *si novasikariti terasamava (sata?) vasesu panchata (paba-
ta?) vijaya chana kumari pasange, arahate panavasata pi kamani sīdināya*
yāpuravake ‘in the year thirteen hundred married (*S. प्रसंगः*) with
the daughter of the so-called conqueror of the mountains (a hill *rāja*)’
—.. the rest is obscure but seemingly declaratory of some presents
to priests.—

15. This line presents but a few words of intelligible import—*vihi-
tānancha sata disānam sidiya samīpe subhare—aneke ya janā,*
and the final word *dhanāni*.

16. *Paṭālake chatara cheteghariya gabha thambhe pati (thā) payati,—*
‘he causes to be constructed subterranean chambers, caves con-
taining a *chetiya* temple and pillars’ *agisati katariyam napāda-
chhati—agama rājā savatha rājā saurase(na)rāja..ma rājā pasata*
saghate . . . ranāni.

The meaning of this judging from the last word and the constant re-
petition of ‘*rāja*,’ is that he had many encounters with various princes,
including perchance the *rāja* of *Saurasena*, or of *Saurashtra*?

The last line begins well: (omitting *u vi se*)—*kusalo sava pāsanda*
pūjan (iya) (17 letters) *karakāra patihata lakivāhani bālevāka-
dhagata chana pavata chako rājāsanka lavinaravato mahāvijaye rājā*
khāravela sanda,—“for whom the happy heretics continually pray
. slayer, having a lakh of equipages. the fearless
sovereign of many hills, by the sun (cherished? or some such epithet)
the great conqueror *rāja KHA’RAVELA SANDA* (or the king of the ocean-
shore—reading *khāravelasya*, and supposing the two final strokes not
to be letters).”

All who take an interest in Indian antiquities will at once see the
value of the above record—perhaps the most curious that has yet been
disclosed to us,—and will lament the irretrievable obscurity in which
the dilapidation of ages has involved the greater part of its contents.
Much may be objected to in the hasty analysis which, in the midst of
the interruptions at this busy season, I have hurried prematurely into

publication : but there can be little doubt of the main facts,—that the caves were executed by a Buddhist rāja of *Kalinga* (named *AIRA* ?) who at the age of 24, after having pursued his studies regularly for nine years, wrested the government from some usurper—distributed largesses bountifully—repaired the buildings—dug tanks, &c. The ambiguity in what follows is partly due to the imperfection of the Pāli dialect which expresses the Sanskrit वशः *vasah*, ‘led on by, enthralled,’—by the same letters, ॐ as the word वर्षे *varshè*, ‘in the year.’—I have interpreted it in the latter sense wherever I found a numerical accompaniment,—and in the former where by it only I could make sense.—Each change of inclination is consistently followed by a description of corresponding conduct, and we have throughout a most natural picture of a prince’s life, wavering between pleasure and learning,—between the brahmanical and Buddhist faith, then doubtless the subject of constant contention. The history embraces his alliance with the daughter of a hill chieftain and perchance even his death, though this is very unlikely. I have no time however to review the contents of the inscription as it deserves, and must content myself with one or two remarks on the identification of the prince.

Tradition, Mr. STIRLING tells us, ascribes the construction of the *nour* or palace on *Udayagiri* to rāja *LALAT INDRA KESARI*, a favourer of the Bauddha religion, who reigned about the year A. D. 617.

The name of *AIRA* has doubtless much affinity to *INDRA*, and the epithet *mahāmeghavādhana* “borne on the clouds,” metaphorically applied, might support the hypothesis of their being synonymous ; but we cannot imagine that the writing is of a period so modern as his reign.

There is, higher up in the same list of *Orissa* kings, the name of *INDRA DEVA* about 340 A. D.,—but even he is not sufficiently old : and it is evident we have no real account as yet of the early rājas of *Kalinga*.—The very name is lost sight of in the *vansavalis* and *cherit-ras* of *Or-desa* or *Utkala-desa* consulted by STIRLING,—nor am I aware of any direct treatise on the subject. The country is only known by Sanskrit authors from its frequent mention along with *Anga* and *Vanga**. But we have far more particular and frequent allusions to it as an extensive and powerful kingdom in the Buddhist annals of *Ceylon*.

Kalinga, (or as it is called in M. CSOMA’s analysis of the Tibetan authorities†, ‘the country of the king of *Kalinga*,’—in curious accor-

* In a broken inscription-slab just brought to my notice in the museum, by Mr. KITTOE, the *Kesari* rājas are called *Kalingādhipati*.

† Asiatic Researches, XX. page 317, Notice of the death of BUDDHA.

dance with the *Kalinga rāja vāsa pura* of our inscription,) was one of the twelve places among which the relics of *Buddha* were distributed at his death. The left canine tooth fell to its share, and Mr. TURNOUR informs us from his *Pāli* records that the capital of the province was named *Dantapura*; evidently in consequence of this circumstance. The frequent contentions that arose in after ages, for the possession of this precious deposit, may have been the cause of the decline and ruin of this ancient kingdom, which although still known to the natives as the appellation of the coast or maritime tract from *Cuttack* to the *Chilka* lake, has not now sufficient importance even to be named in 'HAMILTON'S Hindostān:—and is only preserved in the name of a small village, *Culingapatam*, probably once the capital; for the inscription teaches us that it was occasionally changed at the pleasure of the sovereign.

On the other hand I need but refer to page 860 of the present volume to prove what an important position the *Kalinga* monarchs at one time enjoyed in India. Their capital was probably at this early period the principal emporium of commerce. The inscription tells us that the young prince was instructed in *nāva-vapāra* 'ship-commerce.' During the life of SHAKYA, also, we learn from M. CSOMA, the king of *Kalinga* sent the king of *Kosala* a piece of fine linen cloth as a present*. It is from these invaluable disclosures of the Buddhist records alone that we can gather any light upon the subject of the true *Kalinga* dynasty, to whom the present inscription undoubtedly relates. "The ruling sovereign, says Mr. TURNOUR, who received the relic at BUDDHA'S death was BRAHMADATTO†. He was succeeded by his son KĀSĪ, who was succeeded by his son SUNANDO. These rājas are stated to have been profound Buddhists. From the indiscriminating tone in which the ensuing monarchs are stated to have 'continued to make offerings to the tooth relic of the divine sage,' it is reasonable to infer that subsequently to SUNANDO'S reign, Buddhism ceased to be the faith of the rulers of *Kalinga*. At all events GUHASIWO, who was a contemporary of the Ceylonese monarch MAHASE'NO must have reigned towards the close of the third century of our era, is admitted to have been of the brahminical faith."

* CSOMA'S analysis of the *Dulva*, Asiatic Researches, XX. 85. "It comes afterwards into the hands of a lewd priestess, who puts it on and appears in public, but from its thin texture appears to be naked." This cloth must therefore have been as fine as the *Dacca* muslins of later days.

† I find the name of *Brahmadatta*, written *Bhamadatasā* on one of the Buddhist epics of the *Ramadatta* series.

Now this picture accords surprisingly with the facts gleaned from the mutilated inscription. In SUNANDO, we may be perhaps allowed to recognize the NANDA rāja whose name twice occurs rather than one of the nine NANDAS of *Magadha*; the hero of the record may have succeeded him, and he, as we have seen, wavered between the rival religions. The name of this young prince from the most obvious interpretation of the opening line would seem to be AIRA, the excavator of the caves and repairer of the palace and religious edifices.

But there is another explanation of the first line, which seems more consistent with the epithet *Mahámeghaváhana* 'the great rider upon the clouds,'—a term hardly applicable to a terrestrial monarch. It will be remarked that the termination *lunam*, 'excavated,' is indefinite as to time; and far different from the conclusion of every subsequent sentence in a causal verb of the present tense, as, *kárayati*, 'he causes to be done.' This first line then may be independent of the rest, and may be similar to the announcements upon the other caves, also terminating in *lunam*; or in other words, it may declare the name of the cave as, 'the cave of *Aira*.' Now STIRLING tells us that INDRA'S wife was the last to inhabit these caves, but that "they date from an age much anterior—the time of BUDDHA;"—that is, not of SÁKYA, but of BUDDHA the progenitor of the lunar race according to Pauranic mythology;—in common parlance from 'time out of mind.'

Again WILSON, in his analysis of the MACKENZIE manuscripts (vol. 1, p. cv.) remarking that they present no satisfactory materials for tracing the ancient history of the countries north of the *Krishna*, cites among the few traditions recorded, that "the excavations at *Ellora* are ascribed to ILA the son of BUDDHA the son of the moon." The rājas who ruled subsequently at *Ellora* are said to be YUVANASWA, DANDAKA, INDRADYUMNA, DARUDHYA, and RAMA rāja.'—(Of these INDRADYUMNA, it may be remarked, en passant, is the traditionary founder of the temple of *Jagannáth*.)

The ILA above mentioned is properly speaking not the son but the wife of BUDDHA,—in other words ILA' or IRA', the goddess of the earth, or water. From whom was born AILAS or PURU'VAVAS, progenitor of the two principal branches of the CHANDRAVANSAs who reigned at *Kási* and *Pratishthána*.

The essays of WILFORD contain frequent mention of ILA and ILA', (for this personage is both masculine and feminine,) whom he identifies with JAPHET as *Ilapati* or *Jyapati*; and again with *Ilys* of the Orphean theogony, *Gilsháh* of the Persians, and *Ilus* of Homer*. He has, however, omitted what appears to me a much more rational analogy both

* Asiatic Researches, VIII. 255.

philological and mythological; namely, that between the Hindu goddess IRA', and the JUNO of the Greeks "Hpa" or Hera*. The name is not only identical, but to both, though not precisely in the same manner is applied, in western and eastern fable, the decision of the question which could not otherwise be solved of the comparative pleasure to male and female in the conjugal union. Again, the son of ZEUS and HERA is ARES, "Αρης," or MARS; a name for which, KEIGHTLEY asserts, no satisfactory derivation has yet been given. Now this word is almost identical with ऐरस *Airas* or *Ailas*† the direct patronymic of इरा *IRA'* or *ILA'*, and the name constantly employed in the *Purānas* to designate PURURAVAS, the celebrated lover of the heavenly nymph URVASÍ, whose tale is told in the *Vishnu* and *Padma Purānas*, and more pathetically in KALIDA'S's play of *Vikram-urvasi*, lately translated by Professor WILSON.

PURU'RAVAS OR AILAS was the first monarch of the seven-fold earth‡, and hence might be as well entitled to be called king of *Kalinga* as of every other country. We may therefore understand in the opening passage of the inscription,—‘these mountain caverns were excavated by AILAS, the great king, the cloud-supported, the lord of *Kalinga*,’—no more than an allusion to the same tradition of the origin of these caves as that which prevails at *Ellore*; coupled with the other local tradition, related by STIRLING, that the whole of the rocky hills of *Udaya* and *Khandgiri*, were conveyed thither from the peaks of the *Himālaya*, the headquarters of PURU'RAVAS' earthly dominion, so well pictured in the poetic fiction of his cloud-borne chariot.

Stripped of its mythological and poetical dress, we may understand by the passage that the caves were natural chasms worn in the mountains by the action of the winds and the waves; for *irā* signifies ‘water, the ocean;’ as *airāvata*, or *airāvana*, ‘the ocean born,’ is the elephant of INDRA the god of the heavens, the atmosphere, whose name is still preserved in the sculptures at *Ellora*§.

* KEIGHTLEY derives *Hpa*, from *hera* the Latin for ‘mistress!’ others deduce it from *aer* the air and *erao* to love, both equally unsatisfactory.

† The daughters of JUNO are by HOMER entitled the *Eileithyia*, in which the *r* is changed to *l*?

‡ “The holy BUDDHA begot by ILA'a son (PURU'RAVAS) who performed by his own might a hundred *aswamedhas*. He worshipped *Vishnu* on the peaks of *Himālaya* and thence became the monarch of the seven-fold earth.” Extract of the *Matsya purāna*, WILSON'S *Hindu drama*, Vol. I. page 191,—English Edition.

§ In looking at MALET'S account in the sixth volume of the *Researches*, I perceive one of the *Ellora* caves is called *Doomar Leyna*. In this name we may satisfactorily recognize the *lena* or *lona* of the *Khandgiri* inscriptions—the word should, I presume, be read *Dharma lunam धर्मलूनं* the excavation of *Dharma*, having a gigantic

Should this interpretation of the first line be admitted, though we shall be disappointed in finding the true mundane origin of these singular monuments, we shall nevertheless have abundant reason to admire the antiquity of the Indian mythos, when we thus find in a monument undoubtedly prior by some centuries to the Christian era, the selfsame story which is now repeated by the faqírs who shew visitors over the similar stupendous relics of ancient grandeur on the west of India. In this point of view alone the restoration of the *Khandgiri* inscription, thanks to Mr. KITTOE, must be set down as a grand point gained to confute the arguments of the modernists, as they may be called, who would bring every thing Indian within the space of ten or twelve centuries.—Thus we find Sir C. MALET wavering between the following accounts of *Ellora* derived from opposite sources :—

“The Mahomedan says, ‘the town of *Ellora* was built by rája EEL, who also excavated the temples, and being pleased with them, formed the fortress of *Deogiri* (*Daulatábád*) which is a curious compound of excavation, scarping and building, by which the mountain was converted into a fort resembling as some say the insulated temple in the area of the Indur Subha. EEL rája was contemporary with SHA’H MOMIN ARIF who lived 900 years ago.’

“The Brahman on the other hand says—‘that the excavations of *Ellora* are 7894 years old, formed by EELOO rája, the son of PESHPOOT of *Ellichpore* when 3000 years of the DWA’PAR YUG were accomplished. EELOO rája’s body was afflicted with maggots, and in quest of cure he came to the purifying water named SEWA LYE or as it is commonly called SEWALLA, that had been curtailed by VISHNU to the size of a cow’s hoof. He built a *Kund* for it and bathing therein was purified*.’”

In these conflicting stories we can trace the selfsame tradition of ILA extracted by WILSON from the MACKENZIE records.

It would be well worth while to re-examine the particular manuscript (the number of which is not, however, mentioned), to ascertain what further is said of him, and whether it be possible to consider him in the light of a real monarch of *Deogiri*, whose son could by possibility have imitated his father’s propensity for forming impregnable mountain fortresses in the rocks of *Kalinga*: or whether the name is not rather *Aila* than *Ila*, which will make the same personage at both places, mythological or real, the originator of the excavations. Should an actual monarch, named after this demigod, have ruled in central India in the fourth century before Christ, his synonyme *Pururavas* would bring him satisfactorily into the conditions required for the Grecian *Porus*!

image of that god in it. Other caves are called *wassa* ‘chamber;’ as *Jun wassa*, *Cumára warra* (*wassa*?), &c. this is the *vasú* of the inscription.

* Asiatic Researches, VI. 385.